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# THE TRADITIONS OF THE ELDERS (AS PRESERVED IN IRENAEUS)

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## INTRODUCTION

The [Greek/Latin](#) presented is that of J.B. Lightfoot, published (posthumously) in 1898<sup>†</sup>, under the title, “*The Reliques of the Elders Preserved in Irenaeus*;” the [English translation](#) is also based on that of the same publication but with numerous ‘modernisations’ applied and some amendments and notes following the 1999 book by Michael W. Holmes (who includes only sections 4, 13, 16, 16, and 17)<sup>§</sup>. On the accuracy of the text presented, please refer to the notes in [this document](#).

Saint Irenaeus (born *circa* 120–140 CE, died *circa* 200–203) was the bishop of Lugdunum (Lyon), an Apologist, a doctor of the church, and a leading Christian theologian of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Century. In the course of his writings, Irenaeus advanced the development of an authoritative canon of Scriptures, the creed, and the authority of the episcopal office.

## AUTHORSHIP AND DATES

Irenaeus wrote his best-known work, “*Against Heresies*,” around 180 CE as a refutation of Gnosticism, in particular that of Valentinus. To counter the doctrines of the gnostic sects claiming secret wisdom, he offered three pillars of orthodoxy: the scriptures, the tradition said to be handed down from the apostles, and the teaching of the apostles’ successors.

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<sup>†</sup> “*The Apostolic Fathers*,” J.R. Harmer (Editor), Macmillan & Co. Ltd, London/New York, 1898.

<sup>§</sup> Michael William Holmes, “*The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*” (Baker Books, 1999).

## 1 – HAERESSES, Preface to Book I

‡ Καθὼς ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος ἡμῶν εἴρηται ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων ὅτι

λίθον τὸν τίμιον  
σμάραγδον ὄντα καὶ πολυτίμητόν τισιν  
ὑάλος ἐνυβρίζει διὰ τέχνης  
παρομοιουμένη, ὁπόταν μὴ παρῆ ὁ σθένων δοκιμάσαι καὶ  
τέχνη διελέγξαι τὴν πανούργως γενομένην·  
ὅταν δὲ

ἐπιμιγῆ  
ὁ χαλκὸς εἰς τὸν ἄργυρον, τίς εὐκόλως  
δυνήσεται τοῦτον ἀκέραιος δοκιμάσαι;

## 1 – HERESIES, Preface to Book I

§ According to what was said of such cases by one better than we are:

the precious stone,  
The emerald, accounted of much worth,  
Is shamed by artful mimicry in glass,  
whenever he is not by, who has power to prove it, and  
detect the craft so cunningly devised.

Again, when

alloy of brass  
is mixed with silver, who that simple is  
shall easily be able to assay?

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### TRADITIONS OF THE ELDERS 1

‡ The Greek text is preserved in *Eriphanius, Haer.*, 31:9 (ed. Dindorf, 1859–62, II, p. 148).

§ The Greek and English texts have here been formatted to reflect the layout presented in the original publication.

## 2 – HAERESSES, Book I, 13:3

‡ Καθὼς ὁ κρείστων ἡμῶν ἔφη περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ὅτι  
τολμηρὸν καὶ ἀναιδὲς ψυχὴ κενῷ ἀέρι θερμαινομένη.

## 2 – HERESIES, I, 13:3

As he that was better than we are affirmed of such persons, § a  
daring and shameless thing is a soul heated with empty air.

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### TRADITIONS OF THE ELDERS 2

‡ The Greek text is from *Epiphanius, Haer.*, 34:2 (Dindorf, II, p. 220).

§ Lightfoot starts this clause with a capital 'A'.

### 3 – HAERESSES, Book I, 15:6

‡ Διὸ καὶ δικαίως ... ὁ θεῖος πρεσβύτης καὶ κῆρυξ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐμμέτρως ἐπιβεβόηκέ σοι, εἰπὼν οὕτως·

εἰδωλοποιὲ Μάρκε καὶ τερατοσκόπε,  
ἀστρολογικῆς ἔμπειρε καὶ μαγικῆς τέχνης  
δι' ὧν κρατύνεις τῆς πλάνης τὰ διδάγματα,  
σημεῖα δεικνὺς τοῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ πλανωμένοις,  
ἀποστατικῆς δυνάμεος ἐγχειρήματα,  
ἃ σοι χορηγεῖ σὸς πατὴρ Σατὰν αἰεὶ,  
δι' ἀγγελικῆς δυνάμεος Ἀζαζήλ ποιεῖν,  
ἔχων σε πρόδρομον ἀντιθέου πανουργίας.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ θεοφιλῆς πρεσβύτης.

### 3 – HERESIES, I, 15:6

§ Therefore, also, justly did the divine Elder and herald of the truth exclaim against thee in verse, thus saying:

You idol-framer, Mark, and portent-gazer,  
skilled in the astrologer's and wizard's art,  
strengthening thereby the words of your false lore,  
dazzling with signs whomever you lead astray,  
strange handiwork of God-defying power  
such to perform your father Satan still  
affords you might, by an angelic Power  
Azazel: you, by the destroyer marked  
chosen forerunner of the impious craft.

Thus far that Elder, beloved of God.

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#### TRADITIONS OF THE ELDERS 3

‡ The Greek text is from *Epiphanius, Haer.*, 34:2 (Dindorf, II, p. 220).

§ The Greek and English texts have here been formatted to reflect the layout presented in the original publication.

#### 4 – HAERESSES, Book II, 22:5

*Quia autem triginta annorum aetas prima indolis est iuvenis, et extenditur usque ad quadragesimum annum, omnis quilibet confitebitur; a quadragesimo autem et quinquagesimo anno declinat iam in aetatem seniore, quam habens dominus noster docebat, sicut evangelium † καὶ πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι μαρτυροῦσιν, οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἰωάννη τῷ τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῆ συμβεβληκότες, <τὸ αὐτὸ> παραδεδωκέναι ~~ἑαυτοῖς~~ <αὐτοῖς> τὸν Ἰωάννην. Παρέμεινε γὰρ αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων. Quidam autem eorum non solum Ioannem, sed et alios apostolos viderunt, et haec eadem ab ipsis audierunt, et testantur de huiusmodi relatione.*

#### 4 – HERESIES, II, 22:5

But that the age of thirty years is the prime of a young man's ability, and that it reaches even to the fortieth year, everyone will allow; but, after the fortieth and fiftieth year, it begins to verge towards elder age, which our Lord was of when he taught, as the Gospel and all the Elders witness, who in Asia conferred with John the Lord's disciple, to the effect that John had delivered these things to them: for, he abode with them until the times of Trajan. And some of them saw not only John, but others also of the Apostles, and had this same account from them, and witness to the previously mentioned account.

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#### TRADITIONS OF THE ELDERS 4

† The Greek text is from *Eusebius, Hist. Eccl., III, 23:3*. The suggested insertion and emendation (in angle-brackets) follow Holmes.

5 - HAERESES, Book III, 17:4

*Sicut quidam dixit superior nobis, de omnibus qui quolibet modo depravant quae sunt Dei, et adulterant veritatem: In Dei lacte gypsum male miscetur.*

5 - HERESIES, III, 17:4

As was said by one who was before us, concerning all who in any way deprave the things of God, and adulterate the truth: it is evil mingling chalk in the milk of God.

6 – HAERESSES, Book III, 23:3

*Quemadmodum ex veteribus quidam ait: Quoniam quidem transtulit Deus maledictum in terram, ut non perseveraret in homine.*

6 – HERESIES, III, 23:3

§ As one of the ancients said, “God for his part transferred the curse to the earth, that it might not continue in the man.”

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TRADITIONS OF THE ELDERS 6

§ It is unclear who ‘one of the ancients’ refers to but Lightfoot may have considered them to be one of the Apostolic Fathers.

## 7 – HAERESES, Preface to Book I

*Quapropter hi qui ante nos fuerunt, et quidem multo nobis meliores, non tamen satis potuerunt contradicere his qui sunt a Valentino, quia ignorabant regulam ipsorum, quam nos cum omni diligentia in primo libro tibi tradidimus.*

## 7 – HERESIES, Preface to Book IV

*For which cause, they who have been before us, indeed, and much better men than we, were nevertheless unable to dispute against the Valentinians, as not knowing their system, which we in our first book have very diligently expounded to you.*

## 8 – HAERESSES, Book IV, 4:2

‡ Ἄπαντα μέτρῳ καὶ τάξει ὁ Θεὸς ποιεῖ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄμετρον παρ' αὐτῷ, ὅτι μηδὲν ἀναρίθμητον. *Et bene qui dixit ipsum immensum Patrem in Filio mensuratum: mensura enim Patris Filius, quoniam et capit eum.*

## 8 – HERESIES, IV, 4:2

Further, the rumour that the books of Josephus and the writings of Papias and Polycarp have been translated by me is false; I have neither leisure nor strength to render such works as these with corresponding elegance into another tongue.

‡ The Greek text is from the *Parallela* of John Damascene.

## 9 – HAERESSES, Book IV, 27:1–28

*Quemadmodum audivi a quodam presbytero, qui audierat ab his qui apostolos viderant, et ab his qui didicerant: sufficere veteribus, de his quae sine consilio Spiritus egerunt, eam quae ex scripturis esset correptionem. Cum enim non sit personarum acceptor Deus, quae sunt non secundum eius placitum facta, his inferebat congruam correptionem. [Quemadmodum sub David, quando persecutionem quidem patiebatur a Saul propter iustitiam, et regem Saul fugiebat, et inimicum non ulciscabatur, et Christi adventum psallebat et sapientia instruebat gentes, et omnia secundum consilium faciebat Spiritus, placebat Deo. Quando autem propter concupiscentiam ipse sibi accepit Bersabee Uriae uxorem, dixit scriptura de eo: Nequam autem visus est sermo quem fecit David in oculis domini; et mittitur ad eum Nathan propheta, ostendens ei peccatum eius, ut ipse dans sententiam de semetipso, et semetipsum adiudicans, misericordiam consequeretur et remissionem a Christo: et dixit ei: Duo viri fuerunt in civitate una, unus dives et unus pauper; diviti erant greges ovium et boum multi valde, et pauperi nihil aliud nisi ovicula una, quam habebat et nutriebat et fuerat cum eo et cum filiis eius pariter; de pane suo manducabat, et de calice bibebat, et erat ei quasi filia. Et venit hospes homini diviti, et pepercit accipere de grege ovicularum suarum et de gregibus boum suorum, et facere hospiti; et accepit oviculam viri*

## 9 – HERESIES, IV, 27:1–28

As I have heard from a certain Elder, who had heard from those who had seen the Apostles, and from their scholars, that it is enough for the ancients to be reprov'd, as they are by the Scriptures, for what they did without counsel from the Spirit. For, God, being no respecter of persons, on things not done to his pleasure brings such reproof as is suitable. [Thus, in the case of David, when on the one hand he was suffering persecution from Saul for righteousness' sake, and flying from king Saul, and avenged not himself on his enemy, and was singing of Christ's Advent, and teaching the nations wisdom, and doing all by the suggestion of the Spirit, he pleased God. But when, for lust, he took to his own self Bathsheba, Uriah's wife, the scripture has said of him, § "*But the thing that David did seemed wicked in the eyes of the Lord*" (2 S 11:27); and Nathan the prophet is sent to him, to show him his sin, that he, passing sentence on himself, and judging himself, may find mercy and forgiveness from Christ. *And he said to him: There were two men in one city, one rich and one poor. The rich man had very many flocks of sheep and oxen, but the poor man had nothing except one little ewe lamb, which he had and nourished up, and it was with him and his sons alike; he ate of his own bread and drank of his own cup, and she was like a daughter to him. And there came a guest to the rich man, and he spared to take of his own flock of sheep and of his own herds of oxen, and to prepare for the guest; And he took the poor man's ewe*

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### TRADITIONS OF THE ELDERS 9

§ English text presented in *italics* represents quotations from Scripture (note that Lightfoot does not translate the full quotations).

*pauperis, et apposuit viro qui venerat ad eum. Iratus est autem David super hominem illum valde, et dixit ad Nathan: Vivit Dominus, quoniam filius mortis est homo ille qui fecit hoc; et oviculam reddet quadruplum pro eo quod fecit factum hoc, et pro eo quod non pepercit pauperi. Et ait ad eum Nathan: Tu es vir, qui fecisti hoc; et deinceps reliqua exsequitur, exprobrans eum et enumerans in eum Dei beneficia, et quoniam exacerbavit Dominum cum fecisset hoc. Non enim placere Deo huiusmodi operationem, sed iram magnam imminere domui eius. Compunctus est autem David ad haec, et ait: Peccavi Domino; et psalmum exhomologeseos post psallebat, adventum Domini sustinens, qui abluit et emundat eum hominem qui peccato fuerat obstrictus.*

*Similiter autem et de Salomone, cum perseveraret iudicare recte et sapientiam enarrare, et typum veri templi aedificabat, et glorias exponebat Dei, et adventuram pacem gentibus annuntiabat, et Christi regnum praefigurabat, et loquebatur tria millia parabolarum in adventum Domini, et quinque millia canticorum, hymnum dicens Deo, et eam quae est in conditione sapientiam Dei exponebat physiologicè ex omni ligno et de omni herba et volatilibus omnibus et de quadrupedibus et de piscibus, et dicebat: Si vere Deus, quem caeli non capiunt, super terram habitabit cum hominibus? et placebat Deo, et omnes eum admirabantur, et omnes reges terrae quaerebant faciem eius, ut audirent sapientiam eius, quam dederat illi Deus, et regina Austri a finibus terrae veniebat ad eum, sapientiam, quae in eo erat, scitura; quam et Dominus ait in iudicio*

*and set it before the man that came to him. And David was very angry with the man, and said to Nathan, "As the LORD lives, the man that has done this thing shall surely die; and he shall restore the ewe fourfold for that which he has done, and because he has not spared the poor man. (2S 12:1-7) And he goes over the rest in order, upbraiding him, and reckoning up God's favours towards him, and how he had provoked the Lord in having done this. For, such conduct does not please God, rather great anger is hanging over his house. And hereupon David was pricked to the heart, and said, "I have sinned against the Lord;" (2S 12:13) and, afterwards, he chanted the psalm of confession, waiting for the coming of the Lord, who washes and cleanses the man who had been bound in sin.*

*And so it is with Solomon; while he judged well, declared wisdom, and built the true Temple, and set forth the glories of God, and announced the peace to come to the Gentiles, and prefigured the Kingdom of Christ, and spoke 3,000 parables on the coming of the Lord, and 5,000 songs, as hymns to God, and gathered accounts of God's wisdom in creation, like a philosopher, from every tree, from every herb, and from all fowls, quadrupeds and fishes, saying, "Will God, whom the heavens cannot contain, truly dwell on earth with men? And it pleased God, and all marvelled at him, and all the kings of the earth sought his face, to hear his wisdom, which God had given him; and the Queen of the South came to him from the ends of the earth, to know the wisdom that was in him; whom also the Lord said would rise in judgment with the nation of them that hear his words and believe not in him, and would condemn them." (1K 8:27) He pleased God and was admired*

*resurrecturam cum eorum natione qui audiunt sermones eius et non credunt in eum, et adiudicaturam eos: quoniam illa quidem subiecta est annuntiatae sapientiae per servum Dei, hi vero eam quae a Filio Dei dabatur contemserunt sapientiam. Salomon enim servus erat, Christus vero Filius Dei et Dominus Salomonis. Cum igitur sine offensa serviret Deo et ministraret dispositionibus eius, tunc glorificabatur: cum autem uxores accipiebat ab universis gentibus, et permittebat eis erigere idola in Israel, dixit scriptura de eo: Et rex Salomon erat amator mulierum, et accepit sibi mulieres alienigenas; et factum est in tempore senectutis Salomonis, non erat cor eius perfectum cum Domino Deo suo. Et diverterunt mulieres alienigenae cor eius post Deos alienos. Et fecit Salomon malignum in conspectu Domini; non abiit post Dominum, quemadmodum David pater eius. Et iratus est Dominus in Salomonem: non enim erat cor eius perfectum in Domino, secundum cor David patris eius.] Sufficiens increpavit eum scriptura, sicut dixit presbyter, ut non gloriatur universa caro in conspectu Domini.*

*Et propter hoc Dominum in ea quae sunt sub terra descendisse, evangelizantem et illis adventum suum, remissione peccatorum existente his qui credunt in eum. [Crediderunt autem in eum omnes qui sperabant in eum, id est qui adventum eius praenuntiaverunt et dispositionibus eius servierunt, iusti et prophetae et patriarchae: quibus similiter ut nobis remisit peccata, quae non oportet nos imputare his, si quominus contemnimus gratiam Dei. Quemadmodum enim illi non imputabant nobis incontinentias nostras, quas operati sumus*

*by all, and the kings of earth sought his face, to hear his wisdom that God had given him, and the Queen of the South came to him from the end of the earth, to know his wisdom; who also, as the Lord said, will rise again in judgment with those who hear his words and do not believe in him, and will pass sentence on them; for, while she submitted herself to the wisdom declared by the servant of God, they despised the wisdom given by the Son of God. For, Solomon was a servant; but Christ the Son of God and the Lord of Solomon. So, as long as he served God without offence, and ministered to his purposes, he was glorified; but, when he took alien wives and let them set up idols in Israel, Scripture said of him, King Solomon loved women and took alien wives; and it came to pass in Solomon's old age that his heart was not with the Lord his God. And alien women turned his heart to strange gods. And Solomon did evil in the Lord's eyes; he went not after the Lord, as David his father. And the Lord was angry with Solomon; for, his heart was not with the Lord, as the heart of David his father. (1K 11:1-9).] The rebuke laid on him by Scripture was sufficient, as that Elder affirmed, that no flesh might glory before the Lord.*

*And so, he said, the Lord descended to the parts under the earth, announcing to them also the good news of his coming; there being remission of sins for such as believe on him. (And those all believed in him, who were hoping for him: i.e., who foretold his coming and ministered to his purposes, righteous men and prophets and patriarchs: whose sins he forgave, even as he forgave ours, neither ought we to impute the same unto them, unless we despise the grace of God. For, as they did not charge us with our irregularities, which we wrought before Christ was manifested in us, so neither is it just*

*priusquam Christus in nobis manifestaretur; sic et nos non est iustum imputare ante adventum Christi his qui peccaverunt. Omnes enim homines egent gloria Dei, iustificantur autem non a semetipsis, sed a Domini adventu, qui intendunt lumen eius.] In nostram autem correptionem conscriptos esse actus eorum, ut sciremus primum quidem, quoniam unus est Deus noster et illorum, cui non placeant peccata, etiamsi a claris fiant; deinde, ut abstineamus a malis. [Si enim hi qui praecesserunt nos in charismatibus veteres, propter quos nondum Filius Dei passus erat, delinquentes in aliquo et concupiscentiae carnis servientes, tali affecti sunt ignominia: quid passuri sunt qui nunc sunt, qui contemserunt adventum Domini et deservierunt voluptatibus suis? Et illis quidem curatio et remissio peccatorum mors Domini fuit; propter eos vero qui nunc peccant Christus non iam morietur, iam enim mors non dominabitur eius; sed veniet Filius in gloria Patris, exquirens ab actoribus et dispensatoribus suis pecuniam quam eis credidit, cum usuris: et quibus plurimum dedit, plurimum ab eis exiget.] Non debemus ergo, inquit ille senior, superbi esse, neque reprehendere veteres; sed ipsi timere, ne forte post agnitionem Christi agentes aliquid quod non placeat Deo, remissionem ultra non habeamus delictorum, sed excludamur a regno eius. Et ideo Paulum dixisse: Si enim naturalibus ramis non pepercit, ne forte (nec) tibi parcat, qui cum esses oleaster, insertus es in pinguedinem olivae, et socius factus es pinguedinis eius.*

for us to charge the like, before the coming of Christ, on such as sinned. For *all men need the glory of God* (Rom 3:23), and are justified not of themselves, but by the coming of the Lord – those, I mean, who look steadily on his light. And their deeds, he said, were written for our admonition: to teach us, first of all, that our God and theirs is one and the same; a God, whom sins please not, though wrought by renowned persons: and next that we should abstain from evils. (For, if those of old time who went before us in God’s special graces, for whom the Son of God had not yet suffered, were visited with such disgrace, if they sinned in some one thing, and became slaves to fleshly concupiscence; what shall this generation suffer, as many as have despised the coming of the Lord, and turned utter slaves to their own pleasures? And they indeed had our Lord’s death for the healing and remission of their sins; but, for those who now sin, Christ shall no more die; for, death shall no more have dominion over him; but the Son shall come in the glory of the Father, exacting from his agents and stewards the money that he lent them, with usury: and to whom he gave most, of them will he require most.] We ought not, therefore, said that Elder, to be proud, nor to reproach the ancients, but ourselves to fear, lest haply, after the knowledge of Christ, if we do anything which pleases not God, we no longer have remission of our sins, but find ourselves shut out of his Kingdom. And to this he referred Paul’s saying, *For if he spared not the natural branches, lest perhaps he will spare you, who, though you were a wild olive tree, were grafted into the fatness of the olive tree, and became a sharer in its fatness.* (Rm 11:17,21)

*Similiter et plebis praevaricationes vides descriptas esse, non propter illos qui tunc transgrediebantur, sed in correptionem nostram, et ut sciremus unum et eundem Deum, in quem illi delinquebant et in quem nunc delinquent quidam ex his qui credidisse dicuntur. Et hoc autem apostolum in epistola quae est ad Corinthios manifestissime ostendisse, dicentem: Nolo enim vos ignorare, fratres, quoniam patres nostri omnes sub nube fuerunt, et omnes in Mose baptizati sunt in nube et in mari, omnes eandem escam spiritalem manducaverunt, et omnes eundem potum spiritalem biberunt: bibebant autem enim de spiritali consequente eos petra: petra autem erat Christus. Sed non in pluribus eorum bene sensit Deus: prostrati sunt enim in deserto. Haec in figuram nostri fuerunt, ut non simus concupiscentes malorum, quemadmodum et illi concupierunt; neque idololatrae sitis, quemadmodum quidam eorum; sicut scriptum est: Sedit populus manducare et bibere, et surrexerunt ludere. Neque fornicemur, sicut quidam ex illis fornicati sunt, et corruerunt una die viginti tria millia. Nec tentemus Christum, quemadmodum quidam eorum tentaverunt, et a serpentibus perierunt. Neque murmuraveritis, sicuti quidem eorum murmuraverunt et perierunt ab exterminatore. Haec autem omnia in figura fiebant illis; scripta sunt autem ad correptionem nostram, in quos finis saeculorum devenit. Quapropter qui putat se stare, videat ne cadat.*

*[Sine dubitatione igitur et sine contradictione ostendente apostolo, unum et eundem esse Deum, qui et illa iudicavit et ea,*

*In like manner, again, the transgressions of the people, you see, are written down, not for their sake who transgressed, but for our rebuke, and that we might know that it is one and the same God, against whom they sinned, and against whom sin even now certain of those who are said to have believed. And this again, he said, the Apostle did most clearly point out, saying in the Epistle to the Corinthians, For I do not want you to be ignorant, brothers, that all our fathers were under the cloud, and were all baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and all ate the same spiritual food, and all drank the same spiritual drink; for, they drank of the spiritual rock that followed them; and the rock was Christ. But, with many of them, God was not pleased; for, they were cast down in the desert. These things were for our examples, in order that we should not lust after evil things, as they also lusted; nor be idolaters, as some of them did; as it is written, "The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play." Neither let us commit fornication, as some of them committed fornication, and fell in one day twenty-three thousand. Nor let us tempt Christ, as some of them tempted him, and were destroyed by serpents. Neither murmur, as they murmured, and were destroyed by the destroyer. Now, all these things happened to them as a prefiguration; and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come. Therefore, let him that thinks he stands take heed lest he fall. (1Co 10:1-12).*

*[Therefore, the Apostle says, in a way that does not admit doubt or gainsaying, that it is one and the same God, who both judged*

quae nunc sunt, exquirat, et causam descriptionis eorum demonstrante; indocti et audaces, adhuc etiam imprudentes inveniuntur omnes, qui propter transgressionem eorum qui olim fuerunt, et propter plurimorum indicto audientiam, alterum quidem aiunt illorum fuisse Deum, et hunc esse mundi fabricatorem, et esse in diminutione; alterum vero a Christo traditum Patrem, et hunc esse qui sit ab unoquoque eorum mente conceptus: non intelligentes, quoniam quemadmodum ibi in pluribus eorum, qui peccaverunt, non bene sensit Deus; sic et hic vocati multi, pauci vero electi: quemadmodum ibi iniusti et idololatrae et fornicatores vitam perdiderunt; sic et hic: et Domino quidem praedicante, in ignem aeternum mitti tales, et apostolo dicente: An ignoratis, quoniam iniusti regnum Dei non hereditabunt? Nolite seduci: neque fornicatores neque idololatrae neque adulteri neque molles neque masculorum concubitores neque fures neque avari neque ebriosi neque maledici neque raptores regnum Dei possidebunt. Et quoniam non ad eos, qui extra sunt, hoc dicit, sed ad nos ne proiciamur extra regnum Dei, tale aliquid operantes, intulit: Et haec quidem fuistis; sed abluti estis, sed sanctificati estis in nomine Domini Jesu Christi et in Spiritu Dei nostri. Et quemadmodum illic condemnabantur et proiciebantur hi, qui male operabantur, et reliquos exterminabant; similiter et hic oculus quoque effoditur scandalizans et pes et manus, ne reliquum corpus pariter pereat. Et habemus praeceptum: Si quis frater nominatur fornicator aut avarus aut idololatra aut maledicus aut ebriosus aut rapax, cum huiusmodi nec cibum sumere. Et

the things that then were and searches out those that now are; and, since he tells us the purpose of their being set down, unlearned and daring and senseless withal are all those proved to be, who take occasion from the sin of them of old time, and the disobedience of the greater part of them, to affirm that their God (who is also the Maker of the world) is a different Being from the Father taught by Christ, and is in decay, and that it is this latter who is mentally received by every one of them. Because they consider not, that as in that case God was not well pleased with the greater part of them, being sinners, so also in this case *many are called but few chosen* (Mt 20:16), as among them the unjust and idolaters and fornicators lost their life, so also among us. For, both the Lord proclaims that such are sent into the eternal fire, and the Apostle saith, *Do you not know that the unrighteous will not inherit the kingdom of God? Do not be deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor homosexuals, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor deniers, nor swindlers will inherit the kingdom of God.* (1Co 6:9-10). And in proof that he said this not to those who are without, but to us, lest we be cast out of the Kingdom of God, for doing some such thing, he has subjoined, *And these indeed were you; but you were washed, but you were sanctified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God.* (1Co 6:11). And as in that case those were condemned and cast out, who did evil, and led the rest astray, so in this case also the very eye is dug out which gives offence, and the foot, and the hand, that the rest of the body perish not alike. And we have it ordained, *If any brother be called a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a slanderer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner,*

*iterum ait apostolus: Nemo vos seducat inanibus verbis; propter haec enim venit ira Dei in filios diffidentiae. Nolite ergo fieri participes eorum. Et quemadmodum ibi peccantium damnatio participabat et reliquos, quoniam placebant eis et una cum eis conversabantur; sic et hic modicum fermentum totam massam corrumpit. Et quemadmodum ibi adversus iniustos ira descendebat Dei, et hic similiter apostolus ait: Revelabitur enim ira Dei de caelo super omnem impietatem et iniustitiam eorum hominum qui veritatem in iniustitia detinent. Et quemadmodum ibi in Aegyptios, qui iniuste puniebant Israel, vindicta a Deo fiebat; sic et hic, Domino quidem dicente: Deus autem non faciet vindictam electorum suorum, quicumque clamant ad eum die et nocte? Etiam dico vobis, faciet vindictam eorum cito; et apostolo in ea, quae est ad Thessalonicenses, epistola ista praedicante: Si quidem iustum est apud Deum retribuere retributionem his qui tribulant vos, et vobis qui tribulamini, refrigerium nobiscum, in revelatione Domini nostri Iesu Christi de caelo cum angelis virtutis eius, et in flamma ignis, dare vindictam in eos qui non noverunt Deum, et in eos qui non obediunt evangelio Domini nostri Iesu Christi; qui etiam poenas pendent interitus aeternas a facie Domini et a gloria virtutis eius, cum venerit magnificari in sanctis suis et admirabilis esse omnibus qui crediderunt in eum.]*

*Cum ergo hic et illic eadem sit in vindicando Deo iustitia Dei, et illic quidem typice et temporaliter et mediocrius; hic vero vere et semper et austerius; ignis enim aeternus et quae a*

*with such not even to eat. (1Co 5:11). And again the Apostle said, Let no man deceive you with empty words; for, because of these things the wrath of God comes upon the children of disobedience. Therefore, do not become partakers with them. (Ep 5:6-7). And, as then, the condemnation of them that sinned imparted itself also to the rest, in that they were pleased with them, and they held converse together: so here also a little leaven corrupts the whole mass (1Co 5:6). And, as there, God's anger came down against the unrighteous, here also saith the Apostle in like manner, For, the wrath of God will be revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of those men who suppress the truth in unrighteousness. (Rm 1:18). And as there upon the Egyptians, who were punishing Israel unjustly, vengeance from God took place, so here also; since both the Lord said, But will not God avenge his elect, who cry out to him day and night? (Lk 18:7-8), and the Apostle in the Epistle to the Thessalonians declares as follows, If indeed it is righteous with God to repay those who trouble you, and to you who are troubled, refreshment with us, at the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on those who do not know God and on those who do not obey the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; who also are being punished with eternal destruction from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his power, when he comes to be glorified in his saints and to be marvelled at in all who have believed in him. (2Th 1:6-10).]*

*Both here and there is the same justice of God in keeping God's cause. There, it is done typically and for a certain time, and with relative moderation; but here, truly, and for ever, and more*

*caelo revelabitur ira Dei a facie Domini nostri, (quemadmodum et David ait: Vultus autem Domini super facientes mala, ut perdat de terra memoriam ipsorum), maiorem poenam praestat iis qui incidunt in eam; valde insensatos ostendebant presbyteri eos qui ex his quae acciderunt his, qui olim Deo obtemperabant, tentant alterum Patrem introducere, e contrario opponentes quanta Dominus ad salvandos eos, qui receperunt eum, veniens fecisset, miserans eorum; tacentes autem de iudicio eius, et quaecunque provenient his qui audierunt sermones eius, et non fecerunt, et quoniam expediebat eis si non essent nati, et quoniam tolerabilius Sodomae et Gomorrae erit in iudicio, quam civitati illi quae non recepit sermones discipulorum eius.*

severely. For, the fire is eternal; and the anger of God to be revealed from heaven from the face of our Lord brings a greater penalty on those who incur it: as David also said, *But the face of the Lord is against them who do evil, to destroy their memory from the earth* (Ps. 34:16). This being so, the Elders declared those persons to be senseless, who from what befell God's disobedient people of old try to bring in another Father: objecting the great things that the Lord when he came had done to save those who received him, in his pity for them; but saying nothing of his judgment and of all that is to happen to such as have heard his words and did not fulfil them; and how it were good for them had they not been born; and how it shall be better for Sodom and Gomorrah in the judgment than for the city that did not receive the words of his disciples.

## 10 – HAERESSES, Book IV, 30:1–31

*Qui vero exprobrant et imputant quod profecturus populus iussu Dei vascula omnis generis et vestimenta acceperit ab Aegyptiis et sic abierit, ex quibus et tabernaculum factum est in eremo, ignorantes iustificationes Dei et dispositiones eius, semetipsos arguunt, sicut et presbyter dicebat. [Si enim non in typica profectioe hoc consensisset Deus, hodie in vera nostra profectioe, id est, in fide in qua sumus constituti, per quam de numero gentilium exemti sumus, nemo poterat salvari. Omnes enim nos aut modica aut grandis sequitur possessio, quam ex mammona iniquitatis acquisivimus. Unde enim domus in quibus habitamus, et vestimenta quibus induimur, et vasa quibus utimur, et reliqua omnis ad diuturnam vitam nostram ministratio, nisi ex his quae, cum ethnici essemus, de avaritia acquisivimus, vel ab ethnicis parentibus aut cognatis aut amicis de iniustitia acquirentibus percepimus? ut non dicamus quia et nunc in fide existentes acquirimus. Quis enim vendit, et non lucrari vult ab eo qui emit? Quis autem emit, et non vult utiliter secum agi ab eo qui vendit? Quis autem negotians non propterea negociatur, ut inde alatur? Quid autem et hi, qui in regali aula sunt, fideles, nonne ex eis, quae Caesaris sunt, habent utensilia, et his, qui non habent, unusquisque eorum secundum virtutem suam praestat? Aegyptii populi erant debitores non solum rerum sed et vitae suae propter patriarchae Ioseph praecedentem benignitatem: nobis autem*

## 10 – HERESIES, IV, 30:1–31

And those who upbraid and charge us with the circumstance, that the people by command of God, on point of departure, received of the Egyptians vessels of all sorts and apparel, and so went away, from which stores the Tabernacle also was made in the desert, prove themselves ignorant of God's ways of justice and of his providence, as that Elder likewise said. (Since, had God not permitted this in the typical journey, no man could today be saved in our real journey, that is, in the faith wherein we are established, whereby we have been taken out of the number of the Gentiles. For, we all possess some property, moderate or large, which we have gotten out of the Mammon of iniquity. For, whence are the houses in which we dwell, and the garments we put on, and the furniture we use, and all the rest of what serves us in our daily life, but out of what in our Gentile state we gained by avarice, or what we have received from Gentile parents, kinsmen, or friends, who got it by injustice? Not to say that even now, while we are in the faith, we gain. For, who sells and does not desire to gain from the buyer? And who buys and would not be dealt with by the seller to his profit? Again, what person in business does not carry on his business, so he may get his bread thereby? And how is it with those believers who are in the royal court? Have they not goods from among the things that are Cæsar's, and does not each one of them according to his ability impart to such as have not? The Egyptians were debtors to the people not only for their goods but for their life also, through the former kindness of the Patriarch

*secundum quid debitores sunt ethnici, a quibus et lucra et utilitates percipimus? quaecumque illi cum labore comparant, his nos, in fide cum simus, sine labore utimur.*

*Ad hoc populus pessimam servitutem serviebat Aegyptiis, quemadmodum scriptura ait: Et cum vi potestatem exercebant Aegyptii in filios Israel, et in odium eis adducebant vitam in operibus duris, luto et latere et omnibus operibus, quae faciebant in campis, per omnia opera quibus eos deprimebant cum vi; et aedificaverunt eis civitates munitas, multum laborantes et augentes eorum substantias annis multis et per omnem modum servitutis, cum illi non solum ingrati essent adversus eos, verum et universos perdere vellent. Quid igitur iniuste gestum est, si ex multis pauca sumserunt, et qui potuerunt multas substantias habere, si non servissent eis, et divites abire, paucissimam mercedem pro magna servitute accipientes, inopes abierunt? Quemadmodum si quis liber, abductus ab aliquo per vim, et serviens ei annis multis et augens substantiam eius, post deinde aliquod adminiculum consecutus, putetur quidem modica quaedam eius habere, revera autem ex multis laboribus suis, et ex acquisitione magna, pauca percipiens discedat, et hoc ab aliquo imputetur ei, quasi non recte fecerit; ipse magis iniustus iudex apparebit ei, qui per vim in servitium fuerit deductus. Sic ergo sunt et huiusmodi qui imputant populo parva de multis accipienti sibi; et ipsis non imputant, qui nullam gratiam ex merito parentum debitam reddiderunt, immo et in gravissimam servitutem*

Joseph; but in what respect are the Gentiles debtors to us, from whom we receive both profit and the commodities of life? What they gain with toil, we, being in the faith, use without toil.

Besides, the people were serving the Egyptians in the worst of servitude, as says the Scripture, <sup>§</sup> *And with force the Egyptians exercised power over the children of Israel, and made their lives bitter with hard labour, in mud and brick, and in all the work which they did in the fields, in all the works with which they oppressed them with force.* (Ex 1:13-14) And, with much toil they built themselves fortified cities, adding to their stores for many years, and in every kind of servitude; whereas the others, over and above their ingratitude toward them, wanted even to destroy them utterly. What, then, was unrighteously done, if they took a little out of much, and if those who might have had much property, and gone away rich, had they not served them, went away poor, receiving for their heavy servitude very scanty wages? So, if any free person, carried away violently by someone, and serving him many years and increasing his goods, should afterwards, upon gaining some little support, be suspected of having some small portion of his master's property (whereas, in fact, he goes off with a very little, out of his own many toils and of the other's great gain) and if this were charged on him by any one as a wrong; the judge himself will rather appear unjust towards him who had been reduced to slavery by force. Now of like sort are the aforesaid, who blame the people for taking to themselves a little out of much, yet blame not themselves, who have made no due return according to the merit of their parents, but

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<sup>§</sup> English text presented in *italics* represents quotations from Scripture (note that Lightfoot does not translate the full quotations).

*redigentes, maximam ab eis consecuti sunt utilitatem; et illos quidem non signatum aurum et argentum in paucis vasculis, quemadmodum praediximus, accipientes, iniuste fecisse dicunt; semetipsos autem, (dicetur enim quod verum est, licet ridiculum quibusdam esse videatur) ex alienis laboribus insigne aurum et argentum et aeramentum, cum inscriptione et imagine Caesaris in zonis suis ferentes, iuste (se) facere dicunt.*

*Si autem comparatio fiat nostra et illorum; qui iustius apparebunt accepisse? utrumne populus ab Aegyptiis, qui erant per omnia debitores; an nos a Romanis et reliquis gentibus, et a quibus nihil tale nobis debeatur? Sed et mundus pacem habet per eos, et nos sine timore in viis ambulamus et navigamus quocunque voluerimus. Adversus igitur huiusmodi aptus erit sermo Domini: Hypocrita, dicens, exime primo trabem de oculo tuo, et tunc perspicies auferre festucam de oculo fratris tui. Etenim si is qui tibi haec imputat et gloriatur in sua scientia, separatus est a gentilium coetu et nihil est alienorum apud eum, sed est simpliciter nudus et nudis pedibus et sine domo in montibus conversatur, quemadmodum aliquod ex his animalibus, quae herbis vescuntur; veniam merebitur ideo quod ignoret necessitates nostrae conversationis. Si autem ab hominibus quae dicuntur aliena esse, participatur, et arguit typum eorum; semetipsum iniustissimum ostendit, retorquens in se eiusmodi accusationem.] Invenietur enim aliena circumferens, et ea quae eius non sunt concupiscens; et propter hoc dixisse*

rather, reducing them into most heavy servitude, have obtained from them very great advantage. And while they charge the Jews with unjust dealings, for receiving, as we said before, in a few little vessels uncoined gold and silver; of themselves (for, the truth shall be spoken, ridiculous as it may appear to some) they say that they do justly in bearing about in their girdles stamped gold and silver and copper from others' toils, with the inscription and image of Cæsar upon it.

But if we compare us and them, who will seem to have received more honestly? The Egyptian people, who were all their debtors, or we from the Romans and other Gentiles, those even who owe us no such debt? Rather by them the world has peace, and we walk on the roads and sail where we wish without fear. Against this sort of objector, our Lord's saying is applicable, *To the hypocrite, "First take the beam out of your own eye, and then you will see clearly to take the speck out of your brother's eye."* (Mt 7:5). For, if he who lays this to your charge, and glories in his knowledge, is cut off from the assembly of the Gentiles, and there is no property of others with him, if he is simply naked and barefoot, and homelessly haunts the mountains, like some animal that eats grass, he will obtain pardon, as not knowing what is needed in our manner of life. But, if he takes from men his share in others' property, as it is called, while he finds fault with the type of the same, he proves himself to be most unjust, and turns back on himself that accusation.] For, he will be convicted of carrying about what is another's, and of desiring what is not his own; and, with a view to this, they report, the Lord said, *Judge not, lest you be judged; for, with what judgment you judge, you shall be judged.*

*Dominum: Nolite iudicare, ne iudicemini: in quo enim iudicio iudicabitis, iudicabitur de vobis. [Non utique ut peccantes non corripiamus, nec ut his quae male fiunt consentiamus; sed ut Dei dispositiones non iudicemus iniuste, cum ille omnia iuste profutura providerit. Quoniam enim sciebat nos de nostra substantia, quam ab alio accipientes haberemus, bene acturos: Qui enim habet, inquit, duas tunicas, det ei qui non habet; et qui habet escam, similiter faciat. Et: Esurivi enim, et dedistis mihi manducare; et nudus fui, et vestistis me. Et: Cum facis misericordiam, non sciat sinistra tua quid faciat dextra tua; et reliqua quaecumque benefacientes iustificamur, velut de alienis nostra redimentes; de alienis autem ita dico, non quasi mundus alienus sit a Deo, sed quoniam huiusmodi dationes ab aliis accipientes habemus, similiter velut illi ab Aegyptiis qui non sciebant Deum, et per haec ipsa erigimus nobismetipsis tabernaculum Dei: cum bene enim facientibus habitat Deus; quemadmodum Dominus ait: Facite vobis amicos de mammona iniquitatis, ut hi, quando fugati fueritis, recipiant vos in aeterna tabernacula. Quaecumque enim, cum essemus ethnici, de iniustitia acquisivimus, haec, cum crediderimus, in dominicas utilitates conversantes iustificamur.*

*Necessarie igitur haec in typo praemeditabantur, et tabernaculum Dei ex his fabricatur: illis quidem iuste accipientibus, quemadmodum ostendimus; nobis autem praeostensis, qui inciperemus per aliena Deo deservire. Universa enim quae ex Aegypto profectio fiebat populi a Deo typus et imago fuit profectio ecclesiae, quae erat futura ex*

*(Mt 7:1-2). (Not of course that we rebuke not sinners, or consent to things done amiss, but we judge fairly God's ways of ordering things, whereas he has provided in righteousness whatever shall be profitable. Thus, because he knew we would make a good use of our substance, which we should have, receiving it from another, For, he who has two coats, he says, let him give to him who has none; and he who has food, let him do likewise. (Lk 3:11). Again, For, I was hungry, and you gave me food; and I was naked, and you clothed me. (Mt 25:35-36). Again, When you give alms, do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing. (Mt 6:3) And all other acts of bounty on which we are justified, redeeming our own as it were by what was another's. And when I say, "Another's," I do not mean that the world is alien from God but that we receive from others and possess the aforementioned gifts, even as they from the Egyptians who did not know God; and, by these same, we build up for ourselves the tabernacle of God. For, with doers of good, God dwells; as the Lord said, Make friends for yourselves by means of the mammon of unrighteousness, so that, when you are put to flight, they may receive you into eternal dwellings. (Lk 16:9). For, whatever things we had acquired, when we were heathens, by unrighteousness, those same, now we have believed, we turn to the Lord's service, and so are justified.*

*These things were of necessity practised in type before and, out of those materials the Tabernacle of God is built; in which matter, as we have explained, they both received justly, and we were prophetically indicated, how we should begin to wait on God with things not our own. For, all that journey of the people, whereby God brought them out of Egypt, was the type and image of the Church's*

*gentibus: propter hoc et in fine educens eam hinc in suam hereditatem, quam non Moyses quidem famulus Dei, sed Iesus Filius Dei, in hereditatem dabit. Si quis autem diligentius intendat his, quae a prophetis dicuntur de fine, et quaecunque Ioannes discipulus Domini vidit in Apocalypsi, inveniet easdem plagas universaliter accipere gentes, quas tunc particulatim accepit Aegyptus.]*

*Talia quaedam enarrans de antiquis presbyter reficiebat nos et dicebat de his quidem delictis, de quibus ipsae scripturae increpant patriarchas et prophetas, nos non oportere exprobrare eis, neque fieri similes Cham, qui irrisit turpitudinem patris sui et in maledictionem decidit, sed gratias agere pro illis Deo, quoniam in adventu Domini nostri remissa sunt eis peccata: etenim illos dicebat gratias agere et gloriari in nostra salute. De quibus autem scripturae non increpant, sed simpliciter sunt positae, nos non debere fieri accusatores; non enim sumus diligentiores Deo, neque super magistrum possumus esse, sed typum quaerere. Nihil enim otiosum est eorum quaecunque in accusabilia posita sunt in scripturis.*

journey, which was to take place from among the Gentiles; the journey likewise ends with leading her hence into her inheritance, which not Moses the servant of God, but Jesus the Son of God, will give her to inherit. And, if anyone looks more carefully at what the Prophets say of the end, and at all that John the Lord's disciple saw in the Apocalypse, he will find the Gentiles generally enduring the same plagues that, at that time, Egypt in particular endured.]

By statements of this kind about the ancients, that Elder consoled us; and, concerning those faults, which Scripture itself has laid to the charge of Patriarchs and Prophets, we must not reproach them, nor be like Ham, who scoffed at the disgrace of his father and fell into the curse; but we must give thanks to God for them, inasmuch as their sins were forgiven them in the coming of our Lord. For, they give thanks and exult in our salvation. But, in respect of those things, for which the Scriptures do not reprove them, but simply state the facts, we must not, he said, become accusers (for, we are not more exact than God, nor can we be above our Master), but look out for the typical meaning. For, none of all the things, which are set down in Scripture without definite censure, is without its force.

### 11 – HAERESSES, Book IV, 32:1

*Huiusmodi quoque de duobus testamentis senior apostolorum discipulus disputabat, ab uno quidem et eodem Deo utraque ostendens: nec esse alterum Deum praeter unum qui fecit et plasmavit nos, nec firmitatem habere sermonem eorum qui dicunt aut per angelos aut per quamlibet virtutem aut ab alio Deo factum esse hunc mundum, qui est secundum nos. [Si enim semel quis transmoveatur a factore omnium, et concedat ab aliquo altero aut per alium factam conditionem, quae est secundum nos, multam incongruentiam et plurimas contradictiones necesse est incidat huiusmodi, ad quas nullas dabit rationes neque secundum verisimile, neque secundum veritatem. Et propter hoc hi qui alias doctrinas inferunt, abscondunt a nobis quam habent ipsi de Deo sententiam; scientes quassum et futile doctrinae suae, et timentes ne victi salvari periclitentur.]*

### 11 – HERESIES, IV, 32:1

In the same way also did that older disciple of the Apostles reason about the two Testaments, declaring both are indeed from one and the same God; and that there is no other God, besides him who made and formed us, nor any strength in their argument, who say that our world was made either by Angels, or by any kind of Power, or by some other God. [For, if a person once withdraws himself from the Creator of all things, and grants that the world with which we are concerned is made by some different God, or through another, such an one will, of necessity, fall into much absurdity and many contradictions, for which he will render no reasons with either appearance or substance of truth. And, therefore, those who introduce other doctrines hide from us the opinion that they themselves have concerning God; knowing the unsoundness and futility of their own doctrine, and fearing to be overcome, and so to have their salvation endangered.]

12 – HAERESSES, Book IV, 41:2

*Filius enim, quemadmodum et quidam ante nos dixit, dupliciter intelligitur: alius quidem secundum naturam, eo quod natus sit filius; alius autem secundum id quod factus est, reputatur filius: licet sit differentia inter natum et factum.*

12 – HERESIES, IV, 41:2

For the word 'son,' as a certain person also before us has said, has two meanings: one is naturally such, as being born a son, while another is counted for a son, because he is made such, notwithstanding the difference between the born and the made.

### 13 – HAERESSES, Book V, 5:1

‡ Ποῦ οὖν ἐτέθη ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος; ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ δηλονότι, καθὼς γέγραπται· καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐξεβλήθη εἰς τόνδε τὸν κόσμον παρακούσας. Διὸ καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, τῶν ἀποστόλων μαθηταί, τοὺς μετατεθέντας ἐκεῖσε μετατεθῆναι· (δικαίοις γὰρ ἄνθρώποις καὶ πνευματοφόροις ἠτοιμάσθη ὁ παράδεισος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ Παῦλος ἀπόστολος εἰσκομισθεὶς ἤκουσεν ἄρρητα ῥήματα, ὡς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ παρόντι), κάκει μένειν τοὺς μετατεθέντας ἕως συντελείας, προοιμιαζομένους τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν.

### 13 – HERESIES, V, 5:1

Where then was the first man placed? In paradise plainly, as it is written; and he was cast out thence into this world, owing to his disobedience. Therefore, also, the Elders, disciples of the Apostles, say that those who were translated were translated thither (for, paradise was prepared for righteous and inspired men, whither also the Apostle Paul was carried and heard words unspeakable, to us at least in this present life), and that they who are translated remain there until the end of all things, preludeing immortality.

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#### TRADITIONS OF THE ELDERS 13

- ‡ The Greek text is from the *Parallela* of John Damascene. After γέγραπται, Holmes makes the following insertion: *Καὶ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ Θεὸς παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδέμ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς καὶ ἔθετο ἐκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἔπλασεν.* (And God planted Paradise eastward in Eden, and there he placed the man whom he had formed.)

14 – HAERESSES, Book V, 17:4

‡ Ἐπεὶ γὰρ διὰ ξύλου ἀπεβάλομεν αὐτόν, διὰ ξύλου πάλιν φανερόν (l. φανερός) τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐγένετο, ἐπιδεικνύων τὸ μῆκος καὶ ὕψος καὶ βάθος καὶ πλάτος ἐν ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ὡς ἔφη τις τῶν προβεβηκότων, διὰ τῆς θείας ἐκτάσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοὺς δύο λαοὺς εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν συνάγων.

14 – HERESIES, V, 17:4

The blessing: For, since by wood we lost him, by wood again he was made manifest to all, showing forth the length and height and depth and breadth in himself; and, as one of those who have gone before said, by the divine extension of his hands gathering the two peoples together to one God.

## 15 – HAERESSES, Book V, 30:1

‡ Τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἔχόντων, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τούτου κειμένου, καὶ μαρτυρούντων αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν κατ' ὄψιν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐωρακότων, καὶ τοῦ λόγου διδάσκοντος ἡμᾶς, ὅτι ὁ ἀριθμὸς τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ θηρίου κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ψῆφον διὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ γραμμάτων *sexcentos habebit et sexaginta et sex* ... οὐκ οἶδα πῶς ἐσφάλησάν τινες ἐπακολουθήσαντες ἰδιωτισμῷ καὶ τὸν μέσον ἠθέτησαν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος, ν' ψήφισμα ὑφελόντες καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ἕξ δεκάδων μίαν δεκάδα βουλόμενοι εἶναι.

## 15 – HERESIES, V, 30:1

Now such being the state of the case, and this number being set down in all the good and old copies, and testimony being given by the persons themselves who had seen John with their eyes, and reason teaching us that the number of the name of the Beast, according to the reckoning of the Greeks, by the letters therein, will have 600, and 60, and 6 ... some, I know not how, have erred, following a particular reading, and have taken liberties with the middle number of the name, subtracting the value of fifty, and choosing to have one decade instead of six.

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### TRADITIONS OF THE ELDERS 15

‡ The Greek is from *Eusebius, Church History 5.8.5*, and the *Sacra Parallela* of John of Damascus. Holmes 'translates' the Latin portion of Lightfoot's text into Greek: ἑξακοσίους ἕξει καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἕξ.

16 – HAERESSES, Book V, 33:3

*Quemadmodum presbyteri meminerunt qui Ioannem discipulum Domini viderunt, audisse se ab eo, quemadmodum de temporibus illis docebat Dominus et dicebat.*

16 – HERESIES, V, 33:3

§ As the Elders, who saw John the disciple of the Lord, relate that they had heard from him, how the Lord used to teach concerning those times, and to say ...

## 17 – HAERESSES, Book V, 36:1–2

† Ὡς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι λέγουσι, τότε καὶ οἱ μὲν καταξιωθέντες τῆς ἐν οὐρανῷ διατριβῆς, ἐκεῖσε χωρήσουσιν, οἱ δὲ τῆς τοῦ παραδείσου τρυφῆς ἀπολαύσουσιν, οἱ δὲ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς πόλεως καθέξουσιν· πανταχοῦ γὰρ ὁ Σωτὴρ ὁραθήσεται, [καὶ] καθὼς ἄξιοι ἔσονται οἱ ὁρῶντες αὐτόν. εἶναι δὲ τὴν διαστολὴν ταύτην τῆς οἰκίσεως τῶν τὰ ἑκατὸν καρποφορούντων καὶ τῶν τὰ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τῶν τὰ τριάκοντα· ὧν οἱ μὲν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀναληφθήσονται, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ διατρίψουσιν, οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν κατοικήσουσιν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰρηκέναι τὸν Κύριον, ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου μονὰς εἶναι πολλάς, τὰ πάντα γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃς τοῖς πᾶσι τὴν ἀρμόζουσιν οἴκησιν παρέχει· [quemadmodum Verbum eius ait, omnibus divisum esse a Patre secundum quod quis est dignus aut erit. Et hoc est triclinium in quo recumbent ii qui epulantur vocati ad nuptias.] Hanc esse adordinationem et dispositionem eorum qui salvantur, dicunt presbyteri apostolorum discipuli; et per huiusmodi gradus proficere, et per Spiritum quidem ad Filium, per Filium autem ascendere ad Patrem; Filio deinceps cedente Patri opus suum, quemadmodum et ab Apostolo dictum est: Quoniam oportet regnare eum, quoadusque ponat omnes inimicos sub pedibus eius.

## 17 – HERESIES, V, 36:1–2

As the Elders say, then also shall they who have been deemed worthy of the abode in heaven go thither, while others shall enjoy *the delight of paradise*, and others again shall possess the brightness of the city; for, in every place, the Saviour shall be seen, according as they shall be worthy who see him. They say, moreover, that this is the distinction between the habitation of those who bring forth a hundred-fold, and those who bring forth sixty-fold, and those who bring forth thirty-fold; of whom the first shall be taken up into the heavens, and the second shall dwell in paradise, and the third shall inhabit the city; and that our Lord has said, “*In my Father’s abode are many mansions;*” for, all things are of God, who gives to all their appropriate dwelling, (according as his word says that allotment is made to all by the Father, according as each man is, or shall be, worthy. And this is the banqueting table, at which those shall recline who are called to the marriage and take part in the feast.) The Elders, the disciples of the Apostles, say that this is the arrangement and disposal of those who are being saved, and that they advance by such steps, and ascend through the Spirit to the Son, and through the Son to the Father, the Son at length yielding his work to the Father, as it is said also by the Apostle, *For, he must reign until he puts all enemies under his feet.*

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### TRADITIONS OF THE ELDERS 17

† The Greek text is from the Appendix to Anastasius, *Quaestiones in S. Scripturam* No. 74.